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Home dispossession: the uneven geography of evictions in Palma (Majorca)

Sònia Vives-Miró¹, Jesús M. González-Pérez², Onofre Rullan²

¹ Department of Geography, University of Santiago de Compostela, Praza da Universidade, nº 1, 15782 Santiago de Compostela, Spain, so.vives@gmail.com

² Department of Earth Sciences, University of the Balearic Islands, Carretera de Valldemossa km 7.5, Palma, Illes Balears, Spain, jesus.gonzalez@uib.es, orullan@uib.es

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Abstract

Affordable housing, either owner-occupied or rented, is regarded as a key element of social reproduction. However, processes of housing commodification and financialization have increasingly resulted in precariatization of the population and the loss of the right to housing. In the Spanish case, neoliberal policies geared to the revalorization of built environments had caused a housing bubble of historical magnitude. Since it burst, a large number of households have been dispossessed of housing, clearly reflected in the avalanche of foreclosures and evictions that hit Spanish cities as the crisis unfolded. This paper focuses on the urban area of Palma (Majorca) by analyzing the foreclosures exerted on homeowners and the evictions of tenants who, from the start of the crisis of 2008, have not been able to afford their mortgage payments or rents. These evictions and foreclosures are correlated with the social status of the urban areas affected. The results show that the increase of evictions and foreclosures has emerged unevenly around the city. While tenant evictions have affected all types of urban areas, foreclosures have become much more evident in urban areas of low social status.

Zusammenfassung

Bezahlbarer Wohnraum, als Eigentum genutzt oder gemietet, gilt als ein Schlüsselfaktor für die soziale Reproduktion. Indem jedoch das Gut „Wohnung“ immer mehr zur Ware und zum Objekt der Finanzanlage wurde, gestaltete sich die Situation der Wohnbevölkerung zunehmend prekär und Menschen verloren das Recht auf Wohnraum. Im Falle Spaniens löste eine neoliberale Politik, die darauf ausgerichtet war, Wertschöpfung durch Bautätigkeit zu schaffen, einen Bauboom historischen Ausmaßes aus. Seit dessen Zusammenbruch hat eine große Zahl von Haushalten ihren Wohnraum verloren, was sich vor allem an der Lawine der Kündigungen und Zwangsräumungen zeigt, die die Städte Spaniens überrollte, als sich die Krise entfaltete. Der vorliegende Beitrag untersucht die Zwangsräumungen, die in Palma de Mallorca gegenüber Hausbesitzern und Mietern ausgeübt worden sind, die nach dem Beginn der Krise im Jahr 2008 ihre Immobilienkredite bzw. ihre Mieten nicht mehr bezahlen konnten. Die räumliche Verteilung der Kündigungen und Zwangsräumungen in der Stadt korreliert dabei mit dem sozialen Status der jeweils betroffenen städtischen Teilgebiete. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass sich die Zunahme der Kündigungen und Zwangsräumungen ungleich über die Stadt verteilt. Während die Kündigungen von Mietern alle Typen städtischer Gebiete betreffen, zeigen sich die Zwangsräumungen von Wohneigentümern deutlicher in städtischen Gebieten mit niedrigem sozialem Status.

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1. Introduction

The bursting of the housing bubble in 2008 brought an abrupt end to the so-called second Spanish miracle, revealing its weak foundation on debt, growth in housing prices and deindustrialization. It also brought much of the population into a situation of instability and unprecedented social unrest. Data on urban inequality display alarming levels: 21 percent of the population live below the poverty line; another 13 percent make ends meet “with great difficulty”; the unemployment rate has reached 26 percent; the number of people affected by mental illness increased by 20 percent since 2008, while the suicide rate grew to 7.5 per 100,000 in 2012 (National Institute of Statistics, 2014; Spanish Confederation of Associations of Families and Persons with Mental Illness, 2014; www.ine.es; www.feafes.org). In this sense, the crisis entails an intensification of urban inequalities.

The Spanish model (López and Rodríguez 2011) was largely rooted in accumulation through investment into the built environment. Consequently, one of the main social consequences of its crisis has been the loss of housing. Since the beginning of the crisis, over 400,000 foreclosures have been recorded in Spain (Méndez et al. 2014: 24); there are as yet no data on evictions (Human Rights Watch 2014). This paper pursues on the one hand a class analysis by examining the social status of those subjected to evictions and foreclosures, and on the other hand, a spatial analysis of the distribution of these phenomena. Palma, the largest city of the Balearic Islands (metropolitan area: 560,000 inhabitants) experienced 7,127 foreclosures between 2008 and 2013, the seventh highest figure of all of Spain's 431 judicial districts, surpassed only by Madrid, Seville, Barcelona, Valencia, Orihuela and Murcia (Méndez et al. 2014: 24). This makes Palma a paradigmatic case among the medium-sized cities in Southern Europe.

First, we contextualize evictions and foreclosures as manifestations of processes of accumulation by dispossession. We then clarify the methods we use, before providing a brief introduction to the geographical and social characteristics of Palma. We analyze evictions of homeowners and tenants for the years 2003 and 2012, according to social characteristics and location in Palma and its wider hinterland. Finally we conclude that the foreclosures and evictions in the wake

of the crisis are integral to intensifying processes of financialization of built environments in Spain.

2. Evictions and foreclosures as accumulation by dispossession

Critical urban theory (Brenner et al. 2012) has analyzed processes producing urban inequality under neoliberalism: gentrification (Smith 1996; Lees and Ley 2008; Lees et al. 2008), urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1989; González 2007; Brenner and Theodore 2002; Peck and Tickell 2002), the financialization of everyday life (Kaika and Ruggiero 2013), the privatization of public space (Hodkinson 2013), and the New Urban Enclosure (Midnight Notes Collective 1990). Drawing on the concept of New Urban Enclosure, we argue that evictions and foreclosures are the material manifestations of housing enclosure produced by the financialization of the built environment.

Marxist literature generally refers to historical enclosures as a form of primitive accumulation (Marx 1990 [1864]), the separation of producers from the land (means of production). Although the process of enclosure has been present throughout history, the crisis of Fordism in the 1970s sparked a new round of enclosures through the restructuring of the capitalist system of accumulation (Midnight Notes Collective 1990). New enclosures are characterized not only by the privatization of the means of production, but also by the progressive erosion of a set of guarantees related to social reproduction (López and Rodríguez 2010: 45). In other words, in a continuation of the historical process of primitive accumulation, new enclosures expand the separation of communities from their means of production and social reproduction (Midnight Notes Collective 1990). Currently, the most significant spheres of dispossession on social reproduction in the countries of southern Europe are in education, housing, health and welfare. We will focus here on the enclosure of housing.

Although the process of housing enclosure has been carried out through various channels, we focus here on the enclosure that is the result of housing financialization. It is in the financialization of housing, as developed during the recent expansionary cycle of capitalism in the countries of advanced capitalism, that we

find the roots of the current wave of home dispossessions through mortgage foreclosures and evictions.

In the literature, financialization of housing is part of the studies on financialization of the built environment, which due to the spread of this phenomenon has grown exponentially (Aalbers 2008, 2009a, 2009b, Christophers 2011; Dymski 2009; Gotham 2006, 2009; Rutland 2010; Wainwright 2009; Newman 2009). Points of contact between financialization (Krippner 2005) and the urban environment can be found in the phenomenon of "land as a financial asset" (Harvey 1982; Christophers 2011; Charnock et al. 2014) and mortgage securitization. Mortgage securitization has affected real estate mortgages (residential mortgage backed securities), and as a result, the home has become a central aspect of financialization (Aalbers 2008). This phenomenon, together with some others such as financial, fiscal, and land regulations, promotes property revaluation or, to put it bluntly, the housing bubble.

Revaluations can be understood as a first step to housing dispossession (especially if wages decrease or do not keep pace with the costs of housing). In this context, on the one hand, the mortgage loan becomes a necessary condition for access to home ownership (López and Rodríguez 2010). On the other hand, revaluation has also raised rents, which means that tenants have to devote a larger amount of their wages to the rent. As a consequence of the logic of debt and of the higher amount of wages devoted to the rent as a generalized way of access to a home, the peak in dispossession took place with the crisis in 2008 through waves of evictions and foreclosures. In this way, both evictions and foreclosures are the result of a process of home dispossession. In other words, urban financialization has entailed the enclosure of housing (Vives-Miró and Rullan 2014). In the case of evictions, dispossession means the loss of use; whereas dispossession through foreclosure means the loss of use and property.

Most literature on financialization of housing reflects on the process of capital but does not go into the phenomenon of dispossession. In addition, the existing literature on evictions and foreclosure is unfocused. The two processes are not analyzed as the result of the same phenomenon. Some literature discusses foreclosures, their main causes and consequences; other literature analyzes evictions of tenants. This paper aims to analyze both tenant dispossession and homeowner dispossession as processes of accumulation by dispossession, where accumula-

tion is through housing financialization and dispossession is by losing one's home.

American literature on foreclosures links foreclosures with the flexibilization of mortgage markets or high risk (subprime). The rapid expansion of subprime lending is commonly cited as the primary reason for the foreclosure crisis (e.g., Crump et al. 2008). This was the result of the deregulation of the financial markets of the United States and the promotion of home ownership as the key national policy for housing. This has led to new geographies of debt and risk, being superimposed on previously sedimented patterns: low-income neighborhoods discriminated against, e.g. in terms of race (Crump et al. 2008). In the same line, Fields (2015) highlights that such high-risk lending practices intersect with older frameworks of racial inequality, so that the foreclosure crisis has disproportionately destabilized low-income and minority communities and African American female-headed households. There is also literature that examines the spatial distribution of household debt in Canadian cities which also suggests relationships between immigration, race and debt (Walks 2013).

European literature on eviction and foreclosure is scarce. Stenberg et al. (2011) argue that evictions have received relatively little interest from social scientists. They develop a theoretical framework placing evictions at the intersection between civil and social citizenship and by comparing Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden. Gerull (2014) investigates national strategies to prevent evictions. Similarly, Moore et al. (2013) find that default and foreclosures rates and severity and length of the mortgage crisis are related to lack of diversification, or excessive reliance on the housing markets in the United States and in European countries, particularly in Ireland and Spain, but also to the legal framework and foreclosure practices in each country.

In Spain the problems of evictions and foreclosures have been analyzed basically from the point of view of the law (Rodríguez López 2014), economics (Cano and Etxezarreta 2014; Etxezarreta Etxarri et al. 2012; Cano et al. 2013) and social movements (Colau and Alemany 2012; Human Rights Watch, 2014; Navarro 2012; Valiño 2013), with recommendations from the Ombudsman reaching the Spanish parliament (Defensor del Pueblo 2013). In contrast, approaches which focus the analysis on the socio-spatial distribution of evictions and foreclosures are much scarcer.

Based on this geographical approach, two studies appeared, both in 2014. The first of these (*Obeso Muñiz* 2014) works on a nationwide scale in Spain for 2009 to 2012 and, using a geographical resolution of the judicial district, relates the phenomenon to unemployment, clearly distinguishing the Mediterranean coast and Madrid as areas with the greatest presence of evictions. The second of these studies (*Méndez et al.* 2014) also works on a nationwide scale in Spain (2008 to 2013), and also on the basis of judicial districts. The most interesting contribution in this study is the distinction between an initial phase (2008-10), where Keynesian policies still prevailed and in which the phenomenon analyzed focused especially on the Mediterranean coast and the area of Madrid; and a second phase (2011-13) with a deepening of neoliberal policies where evictions and foreclosures also penetrate the medium-sized cities of the urban system.

3. Methodology

The study of access to and loss of homes, a good and a right that is supposedly guaranteed in European welfare economies, has unequal treatment in urban literature in Spain. The collapse of the housing bubble in Spain took place in 2007, and the first publications regarding the issue of evictions date back to 2012. Until the beginning of 2015, all of these focused on the metropolitan or regional scale, without analyzing the inner-city distribution. The main cause may lie in the fact that the official statistics presented by the General Council of the Judiciary, the main institution responsible for compiling and supplying this information, presents the disaggregated data for the 431 judicial districts into which the Spanish legal system divides the nation.

In order to disaggregate the information on an intra-urban scale we used an inventory, case by case, of all tenant evictions and homebuyer foreclosures in the judicial district of Palma for two specific years: 2003, the peak of the real estate boom, and 2012, one of the hardest years in the subsequent crisis, with the highest unemployment rates. These data are provided by the Common Service of Notices and Foreclosures of the Palma courts. The result is a database of all the cases of home dispossession for the two years mentioned, distinguishing whether it was a case of rented or owned property, showing the full address (street and number), and the date of the event. This information was processed in a geographic information system.

In order to determine the degree of concentration or dispersion, Moran's index is calculated for evictions and foreclosures in the different sections of the municipality of Palma for the year 2012.

In order to analyze the relationship between, on the one hand, evictions and foreclosures and, on the other hand, the corresponding urban social geography, we draw up a map that reflects the distinct social categories in the urban area of Palma, making use of a number of previous studies which, with different methodologies, had analyzed both social vulnerability on a statistical-area scale (*Carbonero et al.* 2002) and the particular case of the city of Palma on a census-tract scale (*Vives-Miró* 2013). For the latter we adopted the methodology implemented by a recent study for the city of Madrid (*Rubiales Pérez et al.* 2013) using data from the Census of Population and Housing 2001.

The map was produced by performing a multivariate analysis through the application of principal component analysis and cluster analysis. The underlying data set was referenced in census tracts, with information on: % of foreign population; % of population with high, medium-high, medium-low and low category occupation, % of population in four different degrees of education (from "without education" to "university education"); % of population as entrepreneurs, small owner-occupiers or workers; % of dwellings of less than 70 m², of between 70 and 120 m², and of more than 120 m².

In the principal component analysis, applying the Varimax rotation method, the initial variables were reduced to a few components (factors) which eliminated redundancies and standardized the values. The two main principal components of the study represented 63 % of the total variance and were identified, one of them as middle-high class, and the other as working class.

Secondly, a hierarchical cluster analysis was performed on the two aforementioned factors using the method of Ward (on the Euclidean distance) with the baseline number of groups as three. Through this technique the census tracts were assigned to three large groups according to the similarity of their values: medium/high social status, low social status, and mixture.

The joint processing of the georeferenced data of tenant evictions and foreclosures on the map of social categories enabled us to analyze the existing relationship between the social rank of the distinct parts of the urban area of Palma and the intensity of home dispos-

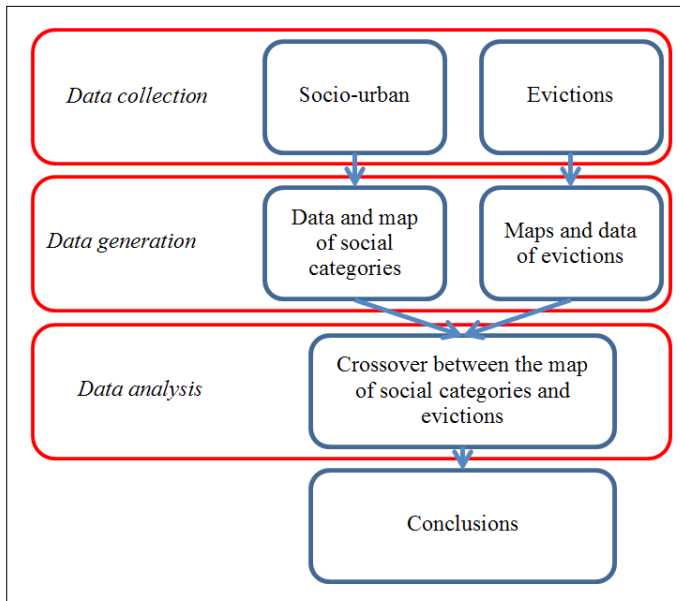


Fig. 1 Methodological process followed

sessions. *Figure 1* summarizes the methodological approach followed in the present study.

4. Palma, its immediate hinterland and its spatial distribution of social classes

Palma is the hub of the urban network of the Balearic Islands. The island constraint, however, means that some small or medium-sized towns on the smaller islands have become important decision-making centres, too, in terms of both politics and economics (González in press).

Geographic scientific literature has not shown great interest in studying the metropolitanization of the Balearic cities. The pioneer studies from the 1970s (Quintana 1979) have only recently received some continuity (Artigues 2006, González 2006). This paucity in the literature can be explained, in part, by the inexistence of metropolitan policies emanating from the public administrations with relevant competence such as the government of the archipelago (Govern de les Illes Balears) or of the island of Mallorca (Consell Insular de Mallorca). Regional, sub-regional and even local land planning instruments barely make any reference to the metropolitan debate (Rullan 2010-12).

Some recent studies have approached the issue of the metropolitan delimitation of Palma (Ministerio de Fomento 2007; Mestre 2013). These studies describe and delimit the metropolitan area of Palma.

Since their creation in 1834, judicial districts – the areas of highest resolution in the Spanish judicial map – have been used as a basis for marking out counties (urban and rural) in Spain. In the case at hand, the territorial structure prior to the development of tourism in Mallorca – made up of a model with three urban hubs (Palma, Inca and Manacor) – was directly linked to and influenced by the division into judicial districts (Rullan 2002: 313ff.). The area under study in this manuscript is restricted to the Judicial District of Palma since, on the one hand, judicial sources are organized in districts and, on the other, the 13 municipalities that make up the judicial district of Palma are part of the urban or metropolitan area of Palma in accordance with the divisions of Mestre (2013) and the Ministerio de Fomento (2007). These municipalities in 2014 contained 563,429 inhabitants, 70.8 % of them resident in the capital Palma (399,093 inhabitants).

The urban area of Palma is not a social and urbanistically homogeneous territory. To a great extent, its diversity is represented on the social status map (*Fig. 2*) which, at the end of the day, is fundamental in order to explain the geography of evictions and foreclosures. In *Figure 2* the white areas are rural areas.

Some municipalities in the judicial district of Palma, situated to the west and north, are located in the Tramuntana mountain range. These are generally small nuclei that were rural in the past, with very compact urban forms, which were socially

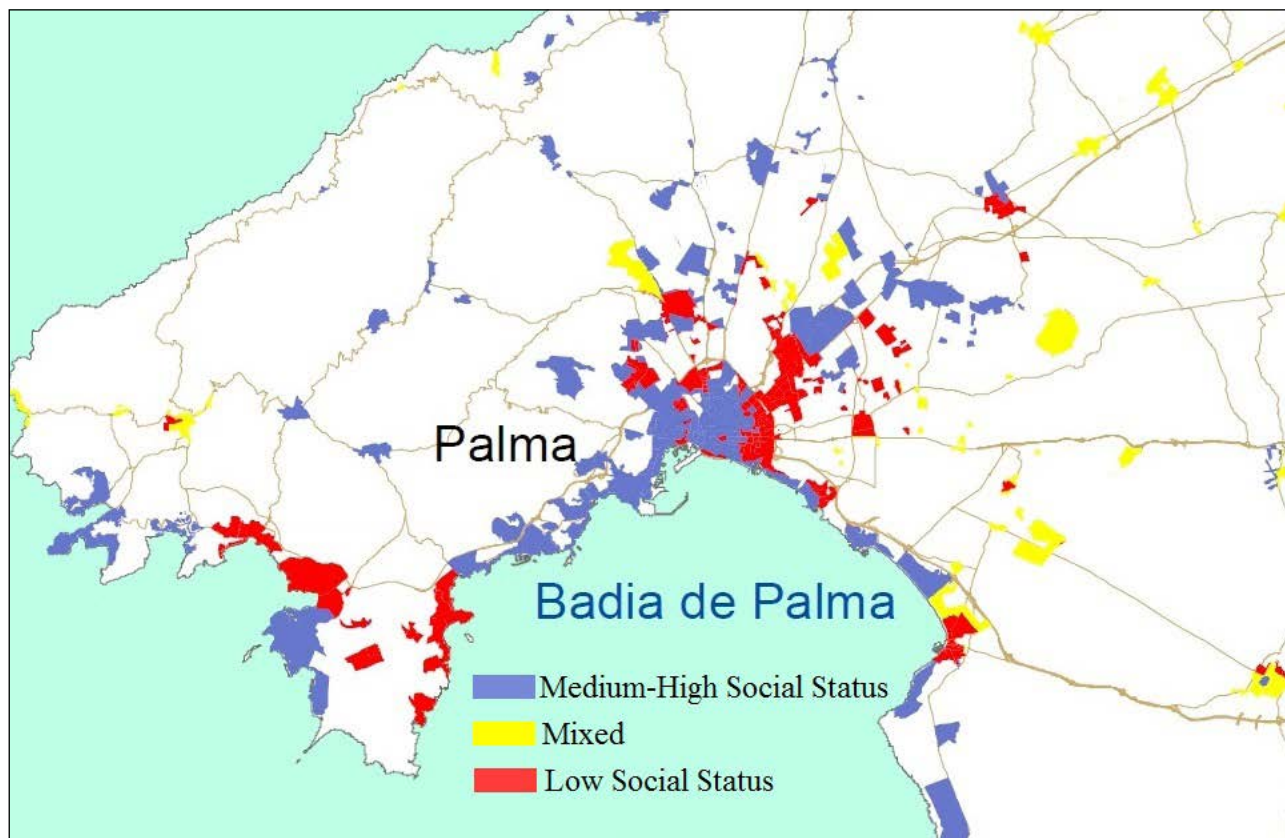


Fig. 2 Social status of the urban tracts in Palma; own elaboration

transformed by the arrival of urban population from Palma and Central/Western Europe who chose them as their place of permanent, secondary or seasonal residence. Gentrification is significant in some of them, particularly in the case of Deià, where 20.3 % of the population is either German or English.

To the west and east of the capital, enclosing the Bay of Palma, two municipalities host the main tourist-hotel enclaves on the Mallorcan coast: Calvià to the west and Lluçmajor to the east. After Palma these are the two most populated municipalities in our territory under study, with 84,965 inhabitants, 71,809 tourist beds and, according to data from the latest population and housing census in 2011, 41.69 % of the dwellings either second homes or vacant.

East of Palma the landscape is still predominantly rural, with agricultural uses of land. Palma's urban expansion towards the interior of the island – following the motorway that connects Palma to Inca (a small town of regional function in the centre of the island) and Alcúdia (northern port city along another tourist coastline) – is transforming these municipalities both socially and urbanistically.

The case of the city of Palma is the most complex, in that it is possible to distinguish a clear internal social segregation, with very few mixed districts. The social map reveals the problems of fragmentation of the urban shape, with both residential segregation and social polarization.

In short, the social map of the urban area of Palma reveals a distribution articulated in the following way:

1. Upper-class segments of the society in the urban centre of Palma, in tourist and residential coastal neighbourhoods, peri-urban housing developments, and in the urban nuclei in the north-western municipalities in the Tramuntana mountain range;
2. Working-class population in neighbourhoods on the periphery of Palma, especially in the east, and in the spaces of social reproduction nearby the coastal tourist enclaves;
3. Mixed population in the inland rural settlements, where there is a social mix in the census tracts and where segregating urban dynamics have not yet been reproduced.

Table 1 Evictions of owners and tenants (2003 and 2012) by social category of the census tracts in Palma and its hinterland

	Social category	Number of homes	Evictions from rented homes	Evicted homes per housing stock of its social category (‰)	Evictions from owned homes	Evicted homes per housing stock of its social category (‰)	Total evictions	Evicted homes per housing stock of its social category (‰)
2003	Medium-high	139185	299	2.15	38	0.27	337	2.71
	Mixed	20092	27	1.34	6	0.30	33	1.64
	Low	97871	175	1.79	30	0.31	205	2.09
	Total	257148	501	1.95	74	0.29	557	2.39
2012	Medium-high	154026	715	4.64	189	1.23	904	5.87
	Mixed	22223	84	3.78	30	1.35	114	5.13
	Low	108299	486	4.49	323	2.98	809	7.47
	Total	284548	1285	4.52	542	1.90	1827	6.42

5. Housing dispossessions in Palma (2003-2012)

The results of the tally and the locations of evictions in 2003 and 2012 are summarized and presented in Table 1. Besides classifying the individual events according to the social category of the specific tract, we also calculated the proportion of the two types of evictions (from a rented or owned property) in relation to the total number of properties in each social category in the years of reference.

The first fact to be considered is that the total number of evictions recorded in the years of reference increased practically threefold, rising from 615 in 2003 (2.4 ‰ of the total) to 1827 in 2012 (6.4 ‰ of the total). Relative figures are even more significant as far as homebuyer foreclosure evictions are concerned since, whereas these multiplied by over seven (from 74 in 2003 to 542 in 2012), tenant evictions only do so by 2.5, although they start from higher absolute figures (from 501 in 2003 to 1285 in 2012).

It is necessary to mention that the total figures of foreclosure evictions undergo a greater rise in Palma and its hinterland than in Spain as a whole. On a nationwide scale, between 2003 and 2012, foreclosures carried out (there are no data available for evictions of tenants) multiplied by 4.4 as opposed to the multiplier of close to seven for the aforementioned judicial district of Palma. As other studies conducted on

a nationwide scale in Spain have demonstrated, the Mediterranean coast has had the greatest volume of foreclosures due to its greater exposure to urban growth (Méndez et al. 2014: 19ff.).

One major explanation of these figures is the Spanish economic policy of promoting the expansion of credits for home purchases. Credits granted for home purchases in Spain rose exponentially between the end of the 1990s and the first few years of the crisis, from a value of credits close to 100,000 million euros in 1999 to 600,000 million euros in 2008 (Etxezarreta et al. 2012: 600f.).

Analyzing evictions in relation to the social category of the areas affected reveals interesting results. On the one hand, it is evidenced how, in relative terms (‰ of the total), tenant evictions were somewhat more significant in the tracts of high social category both in 2003 and in 2012 (2.1 and 4.6 ‰, as opposed to 1.8 and 4.5 respectively); whereas, on the other hand, foreclosures that evicted homebuyers were greater in relative terms (and also in absolute terms in 2012) in the tracts of lowest social category. The results could appear to be contradictory at first glance but they have their explanation. One must understand that in the tracts of highest social category the higher rental prices diminished more quickly the residential population with the lowest economic capacity. This is one of the effects of gen-

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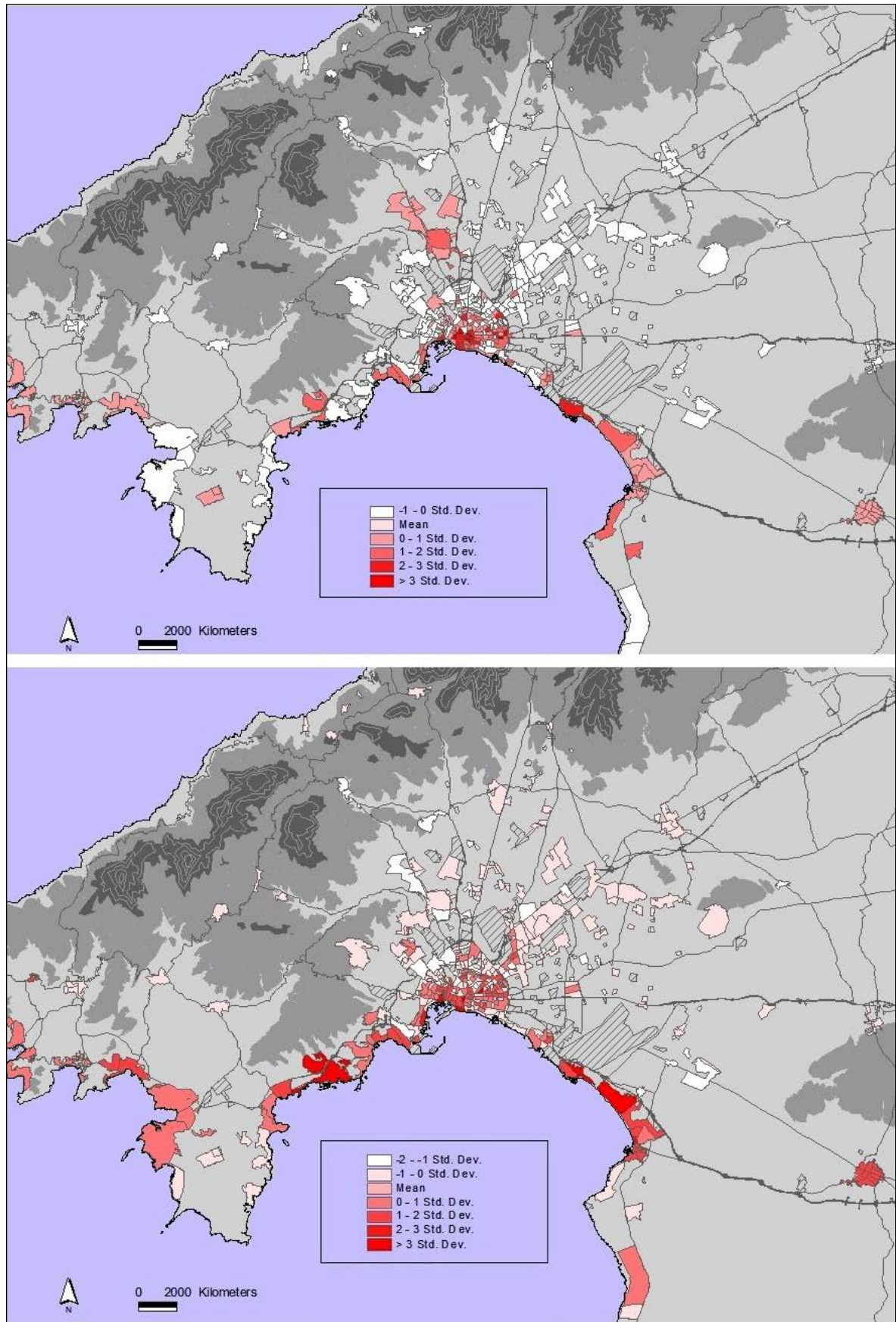


Fig. 3 Tenant evictions by urban tracts in the judicial district of Palma in 2003 (above) and 2012 (below); standard deviation intervals of the % of homes evicted over the total number of properties in the tract; own elaboration

trification that is especially visible in 2012; in this year the 715 tenants evicted from the tracts of the highest social category, as opposed to the 486 from the tracts of the lowest social rank, were subjected to greater pressure since they were, presumably, the population with the lowest residential capacity in the areas with the highest prices. In other words, the crisis that began in 2008 would have evicted especially the tenants of the lowest social category in the areas of greatest social category.

The results about homebuyer foreclosures are different. In this case they show a greater presence in the areas of lower social category. To begin with, the figures are much more modest, especially in 2003 where only 74 cases were accounted for; yet, in 2012, 60 % of homebuyer evictions were located in the areas of lower social category. The policy to promote home ownership meant that, once the housing bubble had burst, defaults on bank loans and evictions especially affected the classes and areas at the bottom of the pyramid, who, upon losing their jobs, could not cope with their obligations to the banks.

These general data also have a geographic specificity which is worth commenting.

By comparing the two maps of tenant evictions – for 2003 and 2012 – (*Fig. 3*) it can be observed that some parts of the city were equally affected in both years even though the intensity of the process was much greater in 2012. This is the case of the historical centre of the city and the coastal tourist areas closest to the city centre. The maps reveal the spread of the process, from the centre towards the periphery, as if the evictions of tenants were advancing in front of the waves of gentrification that affected firstly the historic centre of the city and, subsequently, the coastal tourist areas that are today the most select.

The geographical analysis focusing on homebuyer foreclosures (*Fig. 4*) has rather distinct location patterns. To begin with, it is worth remembering that the eviction figures for 2003 are very low compared to 2012 and, probably therefore, their pattern of spatial distribution is barely marked. It is only in the most peripheral tourist areas around the Bay of Palma (Calvià and Lluçmajor) that eviction figures are somewhat higher in 2012 than in 2003.

In 2012 the geography of foreclosures reveals a clearer picture, on the one hand this process has

intensified in the most peripheral tourist areas that had already stood out in 2003, with the phenomenon extending towards inland suburban areas (especially Marratxí); on the other hand, within the city foreclosures have become focused on the eastern side of the city, coinciding with the areas of lower social category. Hence, homeowner evictions expanded towards the periphery both along the tourist coast and inland residential areas and concentrated in the eastern part of the city where the most marginalized neighbourhoods are located.

Although it cannot be assessed on the basis of data currently available, the expansion of foreclosures to the coastal tourist areas and inland areas suggests a possible tilt towards the second home phenomenon since the crisis has been intensified. Future research has to determine this.

Focusing the analysis on the most central and densest areas in the city of Palma underlines what has been stated. In *Figure 5*, tenant evictions and homebuyer foreclosures in 2012 have been superimposed on the social status map, which, for this part of the city, is dual, with tracts of medium-high social status which contrast with others of low social status – nearly always located towards the east. The central part of the city is clearly segregated, since there is a total lack of tracts with mixed social status.

As can be observed, the greatest concentration of owners dispossessed of their homes as a result of foreclosures is to be found in the urban areas of lower social status, the most eastern tracts of the central nucleus of the city of Palma. However, the concentration of tenants evicted from their homes shows a much more widespread distribution and even somewhat more concentrated in medium-high social status tracts. This can also be explained by the fact that, in absolute terms, there is a higher total number of properties in the medium-high category areas, although not in relative terms (% of the total number of properties), since in this case the indicator is practically equivalent (4.6 ‰ as opposed to 4.4 ‰).

On the other hand, Moran's index was calculated in order to determine the degree of spatial autocorrelation and concentration of foreclosures in these two maps. The result is the same as that which the map patents. That is, there is much more concentration and autocorrelation among foreclosures (Moran's index: 0558) than among evictions (Moran's index: 0203).

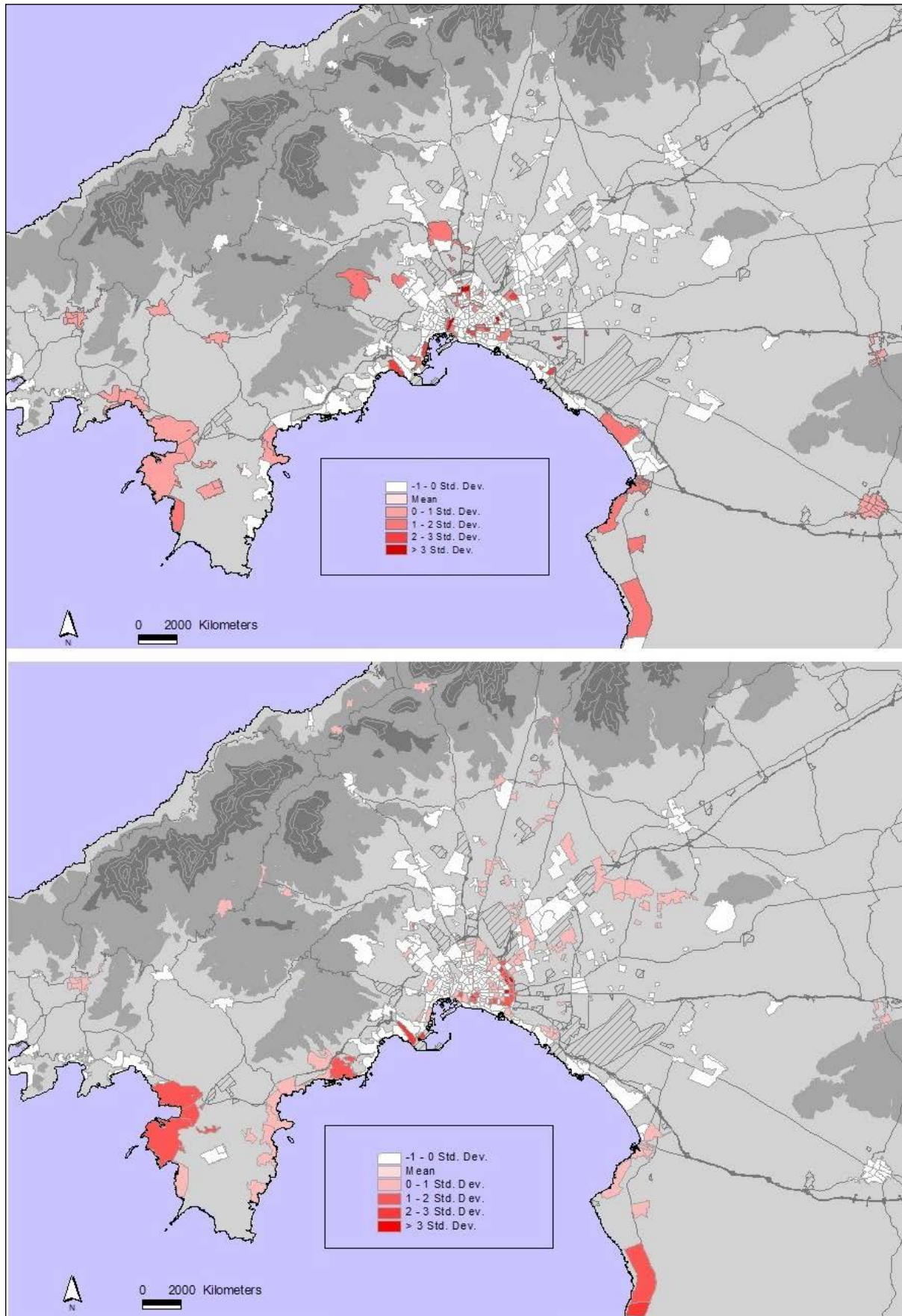


Fig. 4 Homebuyer foreclosures by urban tracts in the judicial district of Palma in 2003 (above) and 2012 (below); intervals of standard deviation of the % homes evicted over the total number of properties in the tract; own elaboration

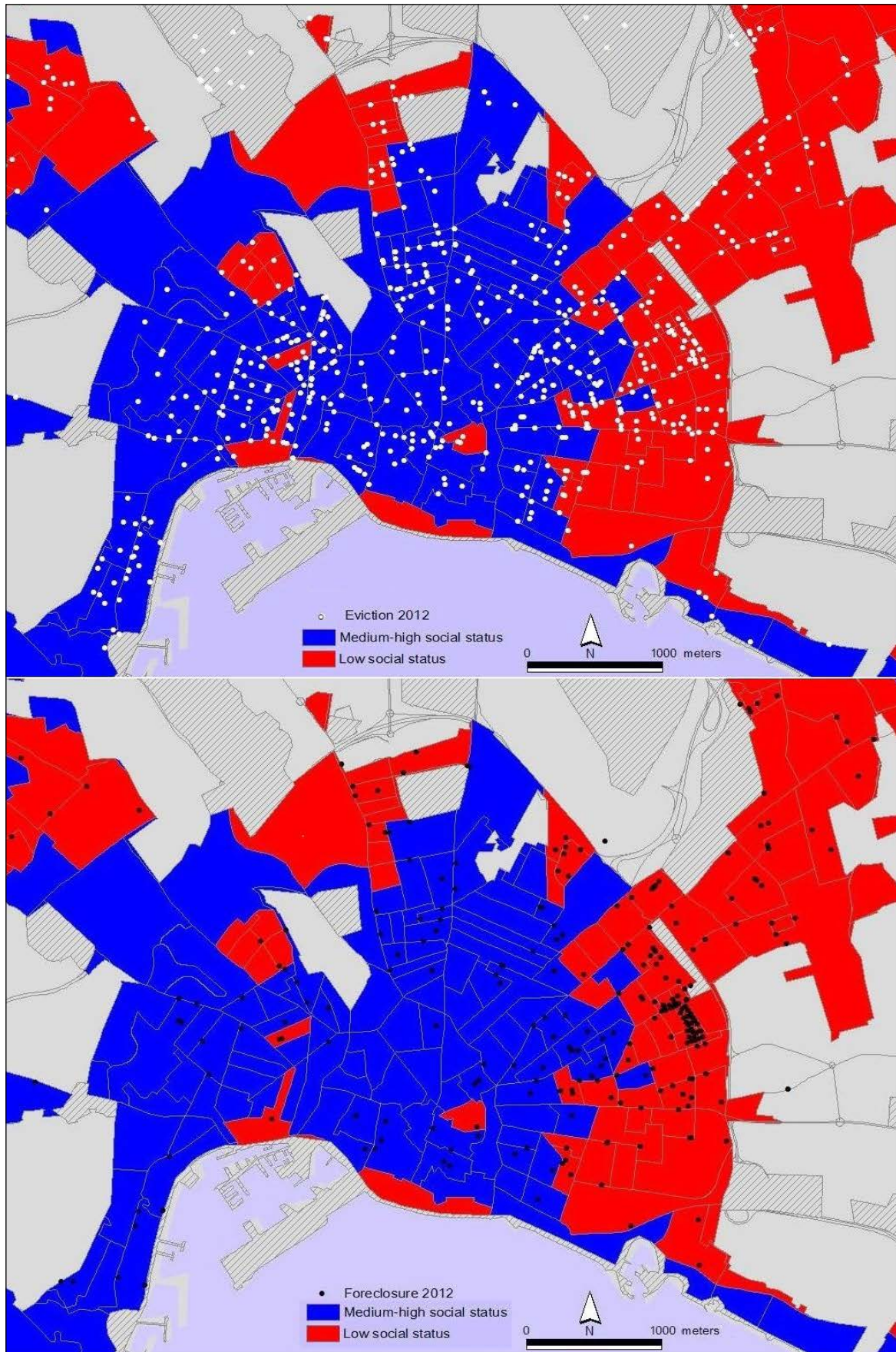


Fig. 5 Superposition of tenant evictions (above) and homebuyer foreclosures (below) on the map of social category status in 2012; own elaboration

6. Conclusion

The city of Palma and its metropolitan hinterland saw all sorts of home dispossessions increase from 615 in 2003 to 1,827 in 2012. This increase affected both tenants and owners. Our analysis provides some nuance to these data, reflected in the geographical distribution of dispossessions and the social status of affected areas. In the light of the data analyzed, it can be concluded that tenant evictions are more significant, both in absolute and relative terms, in the areas of medium-to-high social status than in those with lower social profile. The intensification of this process after the start of the crisis in 2007 is reflected in increased dispossessions of the population with least resources who rented their home in areas of higher social status. During the crisis there was a shift of tenants from the areas of medium-to-high social ranking towards the lower status areas.

As far as homebuyer foreclosures are concerned, the data are somewhat different. In this case the involvement is greater in the areas of lower social ranking although the middle classes are beginning to be affected. While the mortgages underwritten by members of the less affluent population have led directly to the loss of their home, those underwritten by the middle-class population may have been supported by their own and family equity in order to prevent foreclosure. However, in the coastal areas of the Bay of Palma, foreclosures have also increased, even though these areas are populated by the middle class. This is consistent with the data provided by the studies on a nationwide scale in Spain.

The geographical analyses on a nationwide scale in Spain carried out by other researchers (Obeso 2014; Méndez et al. 2014) reveal that it is precisely the regions that most clearly opted for the now failed model (Madrid and the Mediterranean urban and tourist coast) which suffered most from the scourge of home dispossessions. The case of Palma is no exception. Studies analyzing the whole of Spain also reveal a higher frequency of evictions in the areas of greatest real estate and tourist activity, indicating how the crisis also affects the middle class. Social status and home dispossession are clearly linked in the geographical analysis.

Studying both foreclosures and evictions allows us to see the process of home dispossession as manifest in various yet related ways. There is, as yet, little lit-

erature on the phenomenon of home dispossessions in Europe subsequent to the crisis, perhaps because the main European countries have prevented and reduced evictions and foreclosures through specific housing and mortgage policies. The exceptions are some countries in southern Europe such as Spain, and Ireland. The analyses tend to focus on either foreclosure or eviction, but not on both phenomena as aspects of one process of home dispossession. Likewise, the literature on financialization of housing seldom deals with the process of enclosure and dispossession of homes. We argue that both foreclosure and evictions are part of the same process of housing dispossession, which results from enclosure of homes through processes of financialization.

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